

Message Text

PAGE 01 TEHRAN 04283 181047 Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2766

S E C R E T TEHRAN 4283

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CENTO, MARR

SUBJECT: CENTO

FOLLOWING MSG SENT HELSINKI AND COPENHAGEN FOR ACTION IS
HEREWITH REPEATED FOR SECSTATE'S INFO:

S E C R E T TEHRAN 4178

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SECVISIT / CENTO: DEBATE ON ROLE OF CENTO

REF: A. TEHRAN 4156; B. TEHRAN 4861

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
(PREPARED BY FSO ROBERT CHASE) AND IS SUBJECT TO
REVISION. FYI-- AFTER SPEECHES ON OWN GOVERNMENT'S
VIEW OF WORLD SITUATION, EACH FOCUSING PRIMARILY
ON CENTO'S ROLE IN REGION AND PAKISTAN'S FUTURE ROLE
IN CENTO, PAKISTANI MINSTATE AHMED AND SECRETARY
ROGERS EACH SPOKE IN REPLY (REFTELS). GENERAL DIS-
CUSSION FOLLOWED. END FYI

2. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER BAYULKEN SAID HE
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WAS HAPPY TO HEAR SUCH SINCERE EXCHANGE. HE WAS SURE
PAK SAGACITY WOULD CONSIDER ALL THINGS. HE THEN
OFFERED A "POSSIBLY FAR-FETCHED SUGGESTION:" CENTO
MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY ONE WHO SUFFERED AS RESULT OF

OTHER MATTERS, WERE INTERESTED IN EXPRESSION OF US CONCERN FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. COULD WE LEAVE MEETING BELIEVING THAT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL MEMBERS

WAS OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE, THAT IF ANY REGIONAL MEMBER WAS OBJECT OF OPEN AGGRESSION, THIS ORGANIZATION WOULD " SHOW ITS TEETH"?

M HE GRANTED THAT INDIVIDUAL BNNMBERS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF MANY THINGS BY SELVES. FOR INSTANCE, IF ONE DID NOT SHOW SUFFICIENT CONCERN FOR SUBVERSION, ONE MIGHT NOT SEE COVERT AGGRESSION. BUT, TURK MINISTER CONCLUDED, IF WE LEAVE HERE KNOWING WE ARE PROTECTED AGAINST NAKED AGGRESSION, THEN THIS WILL INDEED HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE MEETING*

4. BRITISH SECSTATE FCO REMINDED MINISTERS THAT VERY FEW PEOPLE IN EUROPE IMMEDIATELY POST- WW II, WHEN RUSSIA REVEALED ITS EXPANSION INTENTIONS, WOULD HAVE BELIEVED EUROPE COULD ESCAPE WITHOUT LOSING TERRITORY. YET NATO WAS CREATED AND NOT A YARD OF TERRITORY HAS BEEN LOST, NOT A SINGLE MAN'S LIFE HAS BEEN LOST.

5. IN BRITAIN, MANY QUESTION WHY BRITAIN SHOULD STAY IN SEATO, CENTO, NATO WHEN BRITAIN'S OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS WERE SO REDUCED AND HER NATIONAL BUDGET SO STRAINED. SUCCESSFUL ANSWER IS THAT BRITAIN HAS RETURNED UNITS TO SINGAPORE AND STILL HAS A MILITARY PRESENCE IN PERSIAN GULF. DETERRENT OF WEST PROBABLY SAVED IRAN, EVEN PAKISTAN. DOUGLAS- HOME HARKED BACK TO EARLIER SECSTATE REMARK AND SAID SUCH RESULT WAS " GREATEST THING IN OUR LIVES." FROM SUCH EXAMPLE, WE MUSTN'T EVEN THINK OF " DODGING ENTANGLEMENTS".

6. IN VERY BRIEF REBUTTAL FO PAK EXPRESSION OF COMPLETE DISTRUST OF INDIAN SINCERITY IN DESIRE FOR PEACE,
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SIR ALEC NOTED THAT INDIANS ARE " INDEPENDENT MINDED" AND IT WAS NOT IN THEIR CHARACTER TO LET THEMSELVES BECOME CONTROLLED BY SOVIETS. MRS. GANDHI HAS GONE ON PUBLIC RECORD THAT SHE SINCERELY DOES WISH TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES WITH PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN MUST NEGOTIATE TO PROVE THIS.

7. RETURNING TO CONCEPT OF ALLIANCE, BRITISH MINISTER URGED REGIONAL PARTNERS NOT TO UNDERESTIMATE DETERRENT OF WEST'S INTEREST IN THEIR WELL- BEING. BUT DIRECT MILITARY ATTACK SEEMED OUT OF PICTURE, AND ALLIANCE SHOULD MOVE ON TO CONSIDER HOW TO STRENGTHEN COUNTER-SUBVERSION. WEST MUST STILL WORK HARD TO HELP OTHERS

DEFEND SELVES THROUGH MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

8. PAK MINISTER INTERVENED AGAIN TO ASSURE MINISTERS PAKISTAN DID NOT RPT NOT DENY IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCES, BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL. BUT HE SAID MANY PEOPLE QUESTION PROMOTION OF PEACE BY MILITARY ALLIANCES. GOP DOES BELIEVE ALLIANCES HAVE VALUE, BUT HE FELT PROBLEM IN CENTO WAS NATURE RPT NATURE OF ALLIANCE, NOT RPT NOT PRINCIPLE. IT CAN BE DETERRENT, BUT WAR IS PREVENTED BY MANY CONSIDERATIONS OF WHICH CENTO MAY HAVE BEEN ONE, BUT WAS NOT RPT NOT DECISIVE. ALSO NATO AND CENTO ARE DIFFERENT. CENTO CANNOT DO IN REGION WHAT NATO DID IN EUROPE. WAY IN WHICH CENTO IS STRUCTURED, IT DID NOTHING RPT NOTHING WHEN IT WAS NEEDED.

9. MINISTER SAID HE WAS ALREADY CONSCIOUS OF FACTS PRESENTED BY US, GROWING ISOLATIONIST ATTITUDES, ESPECIALLY IN CONGRESS. IT WOULD BE MISFORTUNE FOR WORLD, HE SAID, IF ISOLATIONISM GOT UPPER HAND. PAKISTAN WOULD DO NOTHING TO EMBARRASS US. BUT CENTO AS PRESENTLY STRUCTURED, AS SHOWN BY PAST EXPERIENCE, IS INCAPABLE OF PROTECTING TERRITORY OF MEMBER. ONE HALF OF PAKISTAN DISAPPEARED AND CENTO DIDN'T EVEN FROWN, IT WAS UNABLE DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT, AT LEAST AS CENTO. HE ADMITTED US WAS
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INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING QUICK END TO WAR.

10. PAKS WANT TO PUT TEETH IN CENTO. IT MUST BE RESTRUCTURED, IT MUST DEFINE ITS OBJECTIVES. MINISTER WOULD LIKE TO SEE CENTO STRENGTHENED BY DEFINING NEW KIND OF ALLIANCE, ALTHOUGH THAT MIGHT, OR EVEN WOULD, HAVE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR DETENTE.

11. SECRETARY ROGERS SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR PAK MINISTER TO KEEP IN MIND US POLICY ON ALLIANCES-- ALL ALLIANCES. NATO IS DIFFERENT FROM CENTO. MAYBE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE GREATER. BUT IF ALLIANCES START TO UNWIND, MOST UNFORTUNATE SERIES OF EVENTS, COULD START.

12. POLICY OF ALLIANCES GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL, SECRETARY SAID. THEY CANNOT SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS, HE ADMITTED, BUT THEY DO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE, SO WHY CHANGE. IF THERE HAS BEEN MEASURE OF SUCCESS, ALLIANCE IS WORTH KEEPING. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO HAVE PUBLIC REDEFINITION OF ALLIANCE, BUT WE MUST SETTLE IN OUR

OWN MINDS WHAT NEW DEFINITION WE WANT. IF
POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR NOW REMOTE, SUBVERSION WILL
GROW, SO LET US DEAL WITH THAT. BUT LET US DO IT
IN SESSIONS LIKE THIS MINISTERIAL, NOT RPT NOOR
PUBLICLY. WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT TALK OF CENTO AS
A SINGLE ITEM, BUT AS PART OF AN ALLIANCE SYSTEM. IF
WE ARE HAVING TROUBLE MAINTAINING THE ALLIANCE, LETS
DEAL WITH OUR PROBLEMS AS QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY AS
POSSIBLE.

13. AS DEBATE WOUND DOWN, SECRETARY ROGERS AND
BRITISH MINISTER
SUGGESTED INCLUSION IN FINAL
COMMUNIQUE OF REAFFIRMATION OF ALLIANCE' S CONCERN
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF MEMBER
STATES. PAKISTANIS AND OTHER REGIONALS
WERE VERY PLEASED TO AGREE AND APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE
WA INCLUDED.

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14. FY-- TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE (TEHRAN 4156)
AND TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY ROGERS' DEPARTURE PRESS
CONFERENCE AT AIRPORT (TEHRAN 4061) SHOULD BE READ
IN CONJUNCTION WITH THIS AND PREVIOUS REFTELS. END FYI.
HELMS

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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